

# *Salvator Rosa*

*His Etchings*

*And*

*Engravings After His Works*

JOHN AND MABLE RINGLING MUSEUM OF ART, SARASOTA, FLORIDA

# *Salvator Rosa*

## *His Etchings*

### ERRATA

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*After His Works*

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## FOREWORD

Salvator Rosa is popularly thought of as the ancestor of the nineteenth century Romantic landscape. His subject paintings even today meet with little acclaim by public and critic alike. For an artist of such stature and such acknowledged influence through the ages, this situation is as difficult for us to understand as it was for Rosa himself. The seriousness with which he approached his subjects is dealt with thoroughly in this catalogue, and perhaps with a deeper understanding of his purposes, we shall arrive at a deeper appreciation of his art.

If Rosa's paintings have not received the recognition they have deserved, the situation is exaggerated in the case of his etchings. Since this is the first exhibition to be devoted to them in this country, it will be readily appreciated that this phase of his art has been largely neglected. By presenting here his complete *oeuvre* in this medium, our aim is to demonstrate his technique and development as an etcher. His skill and his artistic expression through etching will come to many, no doubt, as a revelation.

The second part of the exhibition is even more revealing. Here, in the engravings done after his work, we find in graphic form which phases of Rosa's art were most admired by succeeding generations. It seems that there has always been an underground, as it were, which did not share the eighteenth century biographer De Dominici's low opinion of Rosa's figure paintings.

It is most appropriate for the Ringling Museum to undertake this exhibition. The collection is concentrated heavily in Italian Baroque painting, containing more canvases by Salvator Rosa than any other museum in this country. Quite naturally, our research tends to be channelled into this area, and it is most gratifying to be able to present the results of it in this exhibition and this catalogue.

CURTIS G. COLEY,  
*Director*

## INTRODUCTION

### *Rosa In the Seventeenth Century*

While 1651 is the first year there is mention of Rosa making engravings, there is no reason to assume that he had not learned the craft while he was still in Naples from Aniello Falcone. What is probably true is that he only took it up seriously on his return to Rome in 1649 from Florence, for the same reason that Pietro Testa had, namely that he was having difficulty in breaking through to the patronage he thought he deserved. Etchings circulated were not only proof of his inventive powers, but useful as advance publicity and economic return. It is noticeable that his etchings are all of figure subjects (difficult to sell) and none of landscapes (easy to sell) which can confidently be ascribed to him. There is evidence of his adding *pinxit* to etchings when, in fact, no paintings existed and that some plates never attracted a commission. In many cases, the etchings are more free and inventive than the paintings that followed them, suggesting that the pressure of patronage put a brake on the artists's subjective nature. From Rosa's comments and the evidence of re-issues in his own lifetime, it can be said that the etchings played a significant part in enhancing his reputation. It is possible then to obtain from them a fairly complete view of his personality and artistic direction.

Rosa's intentions in his figure compositions were moral in principle and didactic in practice and while the same could be said about his contemporary, Poussin, the latter was sophisticated and Rosa was not. The Neapolitan made no concessions in terms of form, or in the paintings colour to woo the eye of the beholder, to dilute the moral of his subject. Such austerity could appeal only to patrons of like mind or, more generally, to Northerners, familiar through long tradition and later Protestantism to such severe moral induction. Apposite is the clerical discussion, which Rosa reported, of whether he would die a schismatic, a Huguenot, a Calvinist or a Lutheran, for in word and art he was an anti-cleric, but nevertheless, like Goya later, devout enough in religious observance.

The subjects that are treated in the etchings lack little in having no colour, therefore, and whether they are from Classical or

Christian sources, the emphasis is placed on stern individual personalities, on stoicism or self-abnegation, on integrity and on the nemesis that overtakes those who are vain or power seeking. Each subject is composed with a clarity of intention and expression asked for by the Council of Trent to combat the Reformation except, ironically, Rosa's direction led elsewhere than to Catholic enthusiasm. Nor were Rosa's subjects in common currency, for as can be seen from the notes, he was often the first to introduce some of them. This is not only indicative of his determined individualism but that his art was directed to a select audience, an avant-garde of intellectuals and experimental philosophers centered more in Pisa and Florence than in Rome. In the latter town, Rosa relied on a devoted patron like Carlo de' Rossi from 1656 onwards to buy some of his major figure paintings while another, Nicolo Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador, belonged to the family who had protected Galileo. Cardinal Chigi, another patron, was sympathetic to experimental science, for it was in his garden that Queen Christina of Sweden, the owner of over 400 drawings by Rosa, observed the 1664 comet through a telescope. To use a phrase of Christina's, Rosa aspired to be 'not a copy but an original', and reaped a very small harvest of patrons accordingly.

Rosa has been described as cynical and, through his treatment of some subjects, as melancholic. He was, more properly, misanthropic and choleric, temperamentally therefore, more positive and demonstrative than the former terms imply—the apparent waywardness of his character was not unusual in that age of conflict and doubt. His misanthropy is consistent with the satiric social commentary which runs, for example, from Lucian's dialogue *Misanthropus*, through Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* c. 1607 to Molière's *Le Misanthrope* of 1666. In many ways he is better understood as a poetic and painterly spokesman for the progressive group, which championing Democritus, fought a long and bitter battle with the Aristotelians who were, in reality, upholders of the 'true philosophy' Christianity. There is an interesting temperamental parallel to Rosa in a contemporary, Alfonso Borelli (1608-79), an anatomist like Democritus, he was also a choleric, Neapolitan and a poet, associated with the Academy at Pisa from 1656 and the Cimento Academy in Florence; in 1667 he returned to Messina; becoming embroiled there in politics, he fled to Rome and



gained the brief patronage of Queen Christina before dying in poverty. According to contemporaries, he was impossible to get on with although all recognized his brilliance.

Thus, when Rosa identifies himself with Diogenes, Democritus and others, it is more in terms of their temperamental attitude to society than to their philosophic concepts, as such, and on analogy with Ripa's *Iconologia* which he used frequently, Rosa was creating emblems for the free thinkers, as well.

Rosa was also a much admired actor (see No. 20) so that the gestures that he employs are not empty and rhetorical but consistent with the stage practice of his time and the dialogue form which he often composes was the contemporary mode common in literary exegesis as it was in live debate.

On the subject of Rosa's textual sources, it is noticeable in these days of 'little Latin and less Greek' that there is a paradoxical tendency to nominate an original classical text of a subject and if the erudition of an artist is suspect, then a scholarly mentor is suggested. While Rosa often asked his friend, Ricciardi to find texts for him, it should be recalled, for example, that Pindar's poems were available in Italian in 1631 (ed. Adimari): the life and philosophy of Democritus had been collated by J. C. Magnen (Ticino, 1646) and that the *novelle* (1556-73) of Matteo Bandello, who constantly compares the virtues of antiquity and the lack of them in contemporary Italian society, were a popular source for many classical subjects. Rosa's unusual subjects then should not be considered necessarily as willfully obscure or pedantic.

Taken together Rosa's etchings come closer to giving us his own predilections as regards subjects than do the paintings, which relate more to what was required of him by patrons. While artists are not always right in their judgments of their own work, they are seldom wrong about their aims and commitments. It was Rosa's unswerving devotion to the enlightenment of the few against the cant and hypocrisy of the many that became the principle cause of his reputation in the eighteenth century.

### *Rosa In the Eighteenth Century*

Since it is impossible, in the space here, to deal with the particulars of Rosa's influence in this century, some generalities must suffice. What is significant about the large number of reproductive engravings available by 1800, is that the majority are of figure subjects. When one adds to these the artist's original etchings and the numerous copies of them, then the general view of Rosa actually available is in marked contrast to the accepted opinion that it was the landscapes which had the greatest influence. The clue to this is to be found in Manwaring's fundamental study, namely that it was the English poets like Thomson and Gray and the writers on gardens and landscaping who popularized Rosa's views of nature. However, when one considers other opinions, Rosa is praised for his art in toto and not just for his contribution to landscape.

In the first decade of the century (1711) Shaftesbury (*Plastics*) writes about Poussin and Rosa together 'as good friends' 'Both . . . were honest, moral men'. He was also familiar with Rosa's satires and was the first to suggest a relationship between Rosa and Shakespeare. This latter view Horace Walpole amplified (*Aedes Walpolianae* 1743) in saying that Rosa, like Shakespeare 'invented new characters' and 'a new language for those characters'. In his *Anecdotes* . . . (1762) he suggests that the figure of a jailer by Hogarth is exactly how Rosa would have painted Iago in *Othello*. Sir Joshua Reynolds in his fifth Discourse (1762) writes of Rosa as the chief exemplar of 'the original or characteristical style' which ' . . . being less referred to any true archtype existing either in general or particular nature, must be supported by the painter's consistency in the principles which he has assumed'. Reynolds was contrasting this style with 'the grand style' and thus referring to the whole of Rosa's oeuvre. In the last two decades of the century, Antoine Mongez (*Galerie de Florence* . . . 1789-92) described Rosa as 'gifted with a brilliant and passionate imagination, he encompassed all kinds of painting; . . . the energy of his character, his feeling for art, his habitual capacity for noble thoughts, vast and elevated conceptions would have made him an artist worthy of perpetuating through his virile art, the glorious events of a political revolution, such as ours. But he lived too early and too far from the banks of the Seine'. Since

Mongez was a close friend of David, *the* artist of the Revolution, it is significant that he saw no contradiction in their conflicting styles.

Thus Rosa drew general respect for his art as a whole and for his personal commitment to the improvement of society. For the latter, it is not difficult to see why, for the foundations of the Enlightenment lay in the second half of the seventeenth century. Stoicism, misanthropy, objective scientific enquiry and rational free thinking were some of the ingredients of progressive secular thought and attitude in the eighteenth century. Rosa, through both his paintings and satires, readily became the champion for those artists who aspired to unite life and art in that tempestuous period, 1770-1800.

An assortment of artists like Charles Le Brun, Marco Ricci, Piranesi, Fragonard and de Louthembourg show evidence of Rosa's influence. While in England, as Sunderland has shown, J. H. Mortimer assumed the mantle of the artist to such an extent that he was called the 'Salvator of Sussex' and, taking his heads of Shakespeare characters as a starting point, Rosa's influence can be examined consequently in the works of Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery (1789-) to which most English artists contributed. Later in France, Gros, Géricault, and Delacroix provide evidence of Rosa's figurative influence. To the Romantics as a whole, Rosa was a prefiguration in many ways—such may be deduced from this extract from the long notice by Angelis on Rosa in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle* 1842. 'His ardent imagination . . . reflects itself in all his works; his compositions are full of warmth and energy; . . . his handling is virile, rapid and spirited . . . everywhere there is light, colour, expression and life. His works appear as though created in an instant; there is no feeling of restraint; an impetuous verve enlivens every part. The speed with which he painted sometimes prevented him from giving a complete finish. But it is this facility which is the most sure proof of his talent. . . . His style is his own; he borrowed from no one, and no one perhaps has succeeded in imitating him'. No Romantic artist could wish for a more exact definition.

It is certainly true that legend played its part in rounding off the portrait of Rosa as a romantic, satirist, rebel and patriot,

although it should be noted that Angelis, above, dismissed Lady Morgan's biography ' . . . it is a novel, not an historical record'.

These quotations may indicate that Rosa stood for that element of nonconformism which was endemic in the eighteenth century and fundamental to the Romantic movement.

### *The Etchings and Reproductive Engravings*

As suggested earlier, Rosa could easily have learned to engrave in Falcone's studio in Naples, where also he would have had ready access to Neapolitan graphic work. That he did not practice engraving much until 1651 is perhaps explained that during his period in Florence there was no lack of painting commissions. Thus only on the return to Rome and meeting with serious competition did he find it necessary to publicize his art in this form.

As Haskell has suggested, there is a strong Northern element in Rosa's work which is not unusual since Castiglione shows this too. Apart from Rosa's known borrowing from Peter van Laer in Rome, there were two major Northern artists, Honthorst and Sandrart, whose inclinations were similar. Sandrart, in fact, knew Rosa on his first arrival in Rome. However, a taste for Northern conceptions was prevalent in Naples through Caravaggio and his followers there. In one instance, one may observe that Filippo Napoletano's soldier (65) is derived probably from Urs Graf (*Two Landsquenets, Maid and Death* 1524) and that both Ribera's executioner (64) and Rosa's numerous figures in tatterdemalion costume are beggared metamorphoses of such Northern Renaissance originals. There was also a congruity in subject matter for *Diogenes in Search of an Honest Man* and *Lais and Xenocrates* (CL 22) had been painted by Sandrart and Honthorst respectively. The fact that the Sandrart family in Nuremberg made copies after Rosa suggests a reverse interest. Then Rosa's contact with Pietro Testa, who had been a pupil of Pietro Paolini of Lucca, himself a Carravaggisti, demonstrates that Caravaggio himself was a fundamental source. Rosa, however, modified this source in his long period at Florence by adopting the late mannerist type of figure favored by Antonio Tempesta.



By the time of the return to Rome, Rosa possessed a mature and individual style; to etch, then required only the gaining of technical proficiency. One may imagine, therefore, that Castiglione (67) was the most likely model because of his subject matter and technique. It is more than evident that Rosa's etchings represent finished drawings and it was this correlation in Castiglione which appealed to him. Thus from the early tentative studies (1-2) he moves rapidly towards creating an etching style close to his pen drawing. What Voss had to say about Tempesta's painting—that they were coloured drawings—is true of Rosa to the extent that his large etchings of 1662-4 are like black and white reproductions of his paintings. Castiglione, however, was more a source for subject matter, conception and technique for his style was too smooth and too flowing to serve Rosa. For this reason, Ribera (64) shows in the figure of the youth on the left, the contoured parallel hatching which Rosa uses, and a similar employment of stippling. Like many artists of his time, Rosa would have owned a large collection of engravings and etchings and work still remains to be done in discovering more of the artist's graphic sources.

To close this section, a brief comment on the chronology of the plates is appropriate. It is clear that the series for Carlo de' Rossi (10) represents with its date of 1656 a sure maturity of style and technique, although it is possible that 10B85, for example, is earlier because of its technique. Using this series as a control, it would appear reasonable to place before it in date all the etchings which appear inconsistent with it and those of later documented date. The *Alexander and Apelles* (11), for example, is clearly not in the same class as the later ones of similar size. There is, however, no clear evidence of how early to place his first etchings, for 1651 is only the first time that Rosa mentions engraving so it does not constitute a firm terminus post quem.

There is information in the notes regarding the numerous copies after his etchings but what is quite clear (I have to thank Mr. John Sunderland for helpful observations) is that those

in sanguine (red ink) are nearly all copies, some perhaps may be pirated re-strikes of the early 18th century. These, of superior quality, could hardly be done in the life-time of the artist since the taste for red engravings belongs to the eighteenth century. What remains to be stressed is the overall popularity of the Carlo de' Rossi series (10) made available in so many versions besides the original.

As for reproductive engravings, one cannot expect that the titles given constitute a definitive list, but nevertheless, if Rosa's own etchings are included, the figure of over two hundred given by Angelis in the notice cited earlier, is almost achieved. If one was to state a preference for an engraver then the work of Joseph Goupy stands out for its sensitivity, particularly as he adopts Rosa's etching style in which to reproduce the paintings—doing Rosa in reverse, as it were. What is generally remarkable is that very few of the Rosas reproduced can now be questioned as to authenticity. This fact might suggest that one or two (51, 53) may represent copies rather than independent works. Manwaring, for instance, quotes Shaftesbury as naming Closterman, the portrait painter, as a copyist, which would account for the Northern handling in some of them.

In conclusion, one must make the reservation that only an extensive study in European printrooms would correct and amplify much of the information given in this catalogue, although it is hoped it will provide an initial corpus to which others may add. Apart from my thanks to all the institutions and their staffs from which we have borrowed, I would like to name for their extra assistance and cooperation, Mrs. Mary Schmidt of the Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, Miss Eleanor Sayre of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Miss Colles Baxter of the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mr. John Krill of the Baltimore Museum and Mr. John Sunderland, Witt Library, Courtauld Institute, London.

PETER A. TOMORY

## ROSA — CHRONOLOGY

- 1615 Born Naples
- 1632 Studied with Domenico Antonio Greco
- 1634-35 Lanfranco admired his *Hagar and the Angel*
- 1635 To Rome (some months)
- 1635 Returned to Naples. Worked with Aniello Falcone
- 1639 Returned to Rome. In the carnival attacked Bernini in a recitation
- 1640 Met Lucrezia who became his de facto wife
- 1641 His son born in August
- 1640 Satire *Music*
- 1641 In Siena, Pisa, Florence. Settles in Florence
- 1642 Satires *Poetry, Painting*
- 1645 In Bologna
- 1647 Pisa. Satire *War*
- 1648 To Venice with Ricciardi - Padua, Mantua, returned to Florence
- 1649 Settled in Rome
- 1650 Siena and Volterra
- 1650 At Monterufolo. Paints the *Democritus*
- 1650 Admitted to Academy of St. Luke
- 1651 First mention of etching
- 1652 Refused an invitation from Christina of Sweden
- 1653 Satire *Envy*
- 1655 Takes Lucrezia to Naples
- 1656 62 *diverses figures* for Carlo de' Rossi, Roman banker and merchant
- 1657 Plague in Rome. Brother dies in Naples
- 1657-58 Satire *Babylon*
- 1659 To Pisa. Back to Rome
- 1660 Seriously commits himself to etching
- 1661 Much etching. Visits to Pisa and Florence. Returns to Rome. Height of fame—mentioned by Muzarelli to Duke of Modena with Cortona and Bernini
- 1662 *Alexander and Diogenes, Phytalus, Democritus and Diogenes*, the last two companion pieces. Visit to Loreto.
- 1663 *Fall of the Giants, Oedipus*
- 1664 Last year of etching due to poor eyesight
- 1665 Refused to go to the French court
- 1673 Finally married Lucrezia and died March 15

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the following institutions for generously lending etchings and engravings from their collections.

The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland, Garrett Collection

34, 35, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 51, 53, 55, 56, 61

Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts

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Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York City

15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 40, 58

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, John Witt Randall Collection

33, 36, 41, 44, 60, 63

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Lorser Feitelson

11, 16, 17, 21, 23, 28, 30

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917 and Whittelsey Fund, 1953

1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 26, 29

Private Collection, Sarasota, Florida

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John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida

5, 10, 27, 64, 65, 66, 67

Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, England

32, 37, 39, 47, 50, 52, 59

Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, California

38, 49, 62

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, Gift of Chauncey B. Tinker B.A. 1899

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## THE CATALOGUE

### *Etchings by Rosa*

These have been arranged in the chronological order which appears to be the most logical in relation to style, subject matter and the documented dates. The Bartsch and Nagler numbers follow each title. For convenience the *diverses figures* have been listed together—Cat: No. 10.

Original etchings bear the watermark of a fleur-de-lys in a circle or double circle, while some late impressions bear the former mark with an initial. This type is also found on 18th century copies.

### *Engravings after Rosa*

These have been grouped under subject matter. The lists which follow the exhibited engravings include all that have come to the notice of the compiler.

### *Bibliography*

The list includes all texts consulted by the compiler and all the authors' surnames cited in the notes refer to these sources. Letters with arabic numerals are from de Rinaldis.

### *Inscriptions, dimensions — technical references*

Rosa's signature or monogram is given as it appears on each respective etching. Dimensions, height before width, are given in millimeters and refer to the engraved area. Restrikes, reissues and copies which have been noticed are given last under each entry.

### *Illustrations*

It was thought that many small plates would be more valuable than a few large ones. Numbers e.g. 16B5 refer to catalogue number and Bartsch number; 31 to catalogue number; CL 22 to check list number.

1651-53

- 1 *A man seated on a large rock in a wood* 145 x 91  
Not signed N.92
- 2 *A male penitent, half naked, kneeling in a rocky defile*  
143 x 92 Not signed N.93

Not listed in Bartsch and in a style which must be early. The foliage is treated with small broken irregular lines as in Castiglione's etching 67, but with less assurance and it does not appear in Rosa's later work. 2 might be St. Paul rather than Jerome, and it gives some credence to the Ringling painting (SN 151), which has been traditionally ascribed to Rosa although doubts have been raised on it.

1651-56

- 3 *Pan and two Fauns* 92 x 205 *S Rosa* (reversed) B.14

Possibly derived from an earlier signed etching (not listed by Bartsch or Nagler) illustrated by Petrucci, p. 34, which shows Pan seated on a rock holding his flute in his left hand and pointing to the left with his right; although it is signed, Salerno has expressed his doubts about this print. Pan represents the wild state of nature but through his piping the lyrical aspect. It is not surprising that in a late painting, *Pindar and Pan* (Chigi Coll. Ariccia), Rosa brought together one of his most admired Greek poets and Nature himself. While Plutarch (Numa) wrote that . . . Pan became enamoured of Pindar for his verses . . . and is generally the source cited for the subject, it is also given by Philostratus (*Imagines* II, 12, lines 16-17) ' . . . they say that when Pindar began to write poetry, Pan neglected his leaping and sang the odes of Pindar.' Philostratus, who is describing a picture of the birth of Pindar, says that Pan's expression is 'radiant'. If, in the 18th century, Pindar was supposed to have the features of Rosa (Lanzi), the Chigi painting really represents a composite portrait of the artist—his own turbulent nature calmed by his creative genius (see note to 29).

A copy(?) with the signature *S Rosa* (reversed)

1651-56

- 4 *The Shepherd* (and two figures) 108 x 165 Unsigned B.22

Such a straight-forward pastoral scene is not common. Perhaps it may be considered as a pendant (although the sizes are at variance) to *Pan and two Fauns* (3).

- 5 *Tritons Fighting* 92 x 205 SR B.11

6 *Tritons Fighting* 92 x 205 SR B.12 (not exhibited)

7 *Tritons Fighting* 92 x 205 SR B.13

Petrucchi observed the relationship of these three etchings to the engravings of sea gods by Mantegna. Ribera was also influenced by Mantegna's engravings (Du Gué Trapier).

Copies in sanguine, mid-18th century

Copies in black with watermark D probably 18th century

8 *Five River Gods I* 92 x 213 SR B.15

9 *Five River Gods II* 92 x 207 SR B.16

Rosa remains consistent in his interest in Nature—Gods like Pan and here River Gods. Such a group of five possibly refers to ancient Italian or Greek rivers, rather than those of the four continents represented in Bernini's famous fountain in the Piazza Navona (1648-51) (see note to 28).

Copies in sanguine, mid-18th century

1656

10 *Title Page* B.25 to the *diverses figures* (B.26-86)

Inscribed: Salvator Rosa has ludentis otii, Carolo Rubeo singularis Amicitiae pignus D.D.D.

According to Fabbri, the figure holding the tablet is Caprice, or Fantasy, looking down at the figure of Envy in the background, linking this image to Rosa and his Satire *Invidia* (Envy) in which he speaks of painting his own version of Calumny after Apelles, 11. Carolo Rubeo - Carlo de' Rossi the Roman banker and merchant who had a most important collection of Rosa. This series of plates is dated firmly to 1656 (Limentani).

In general, Rosa could have been initially inspired by a number of such series, for example, those by Callot, both the military exercises and the beggars, by Jacob de Gheyn's series. The Exercise of Arms (1607), by Annibale Carracci's *Le Arte di Bol-*

*ogna*, and by Filippo Napoletano 65, 66. However, coupled with what is proposed below the nearest source in spirit is not a series but the soldiers of Mantegna. Apart from those that appear in engravings, there were those in the Eremitani frescoes at Padua, through which Rosa had to pass to and from Venice. Mantegna's soldiers have the same air of gravity with which Rosa infuses his men.

B.26-67 While the artist's ingenuity in variations has been much commented on, no one has proposed what the intention of the artist might have been. It seems certain that the series do not belong to the military costume or exercise genre, since the soldiers do nothing but sit or stand. True, some of the single figures might fit into that category, but they are exceptions, not the rule. What is true of all is that each single figure and group seems to be waiting rather than resting. Taken together, the figures, soldiers, peasants, women represent the common people. In the Satire *La Guerra* (War) in which the poet is in dialogue with Timon of Athens, the epitome of misanthropy, the first words are — *Sorgi, sorgi Timon . . .* (Arise, arise Timon . . .), presumably because he told the tyrant Alcibiades that he would bring more calamities to Athens. Rosa speaks also of love of country, but the people are leaderless and without example, since the aristocracy is too interested in preserving its power. It is interesting to note that Ripa's emblem for Rebellion is a three quarter back view of a soldier holding a lance, and with other attributes. Further, Rosa observes 'How much injustice, in a single day oppresses a poltroon, a ragamuffin, a fisherman, a worm. . . . Today the low fisherman gives guidance to kings' — a clear reference in both lines to Masaniello (1622-47), a fisherman of Naples, who led the popular uprising against inordinate taxes extorted by the Spanish viceroy.

B. 67-80 It is therefore interesting to note that B.73 represents a fisherman with a net, one of the rare figures that does anything active. The other plates in this section represent a fair cross-section of ordinary people. The only exception is B.72 described by Bartsch as a 'young man' holding a tablet, but surely correctly by Petrucci as 'La donna dall' Erma'.

B.81-86 It is suggested here that this plate (B.72) is misplaced by Bartsch and that it is either the end piece of B.25-80



or the frontispiece to the series on women, B.81-86. There are two reasons: one, that it represents Invention, according to Ripa, a woman holding a miniature herm of Diana of Ephesus; the other, that it is a young woman contemplating Diana of Ephesus, who though remaining a virgin, was the Goddess of Childbirth and known as Cybele (see Vasari (Palazzo Vecchio, Florence) and Giulio Romano (Palazzo del Te, Mantua)). It may very well be a composite of the two, since B.81-86 represent a woman pointing (to the spectator?): a mother with her child; a weeping woman; three nude female penitents (?). Two readings of this brief cycle are possible: that it is a moral cycle of women, innocence-sin and knowledge-consequent penitence (an analogy to Mary Magdalen and Mary of Egypt): or that it is an allegory of knowledge and truth like Raphael's figure of Philosophy (Stanze della Segnatura, Vatican) seated between two images of Diana of Ephesus, holding two books (Moralis: Naturalis) with two putti holding a motto—Causarum cognito. Democritus, indeed, said that a naked woman in natural surroundings was the image of truth. Rosa's choice of an androgynous figure (B.72) may have been intentional since Hermaphrodite, according to Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 4, 285-388) was the result of the inseparable union of the son of Hermes and Aphrodite and Salmacis, a nymph who, significantly, did not follow the example of Diana.

These *diverses figures* were the most popular and repeated etchings. Not only were there re-strikes probably in Rosa's lifetime and certainly after, but there were several series as follows:

Johann Jakob von Sandrart (Nuremberg) before 1698 (Auckland City Art Gallery)  
 Title page as original with 'Norimbergae/apud Ioan Iacobum de Sandrart  
 (Figures reversed)

Jan Goeree (Amsterdam) before 1731 (New York Public Library)  
 Title page as original with 'J Goeree fecit'  
 Figures as original

Carlo Antonini (Modena/Rome) 1780 (New York Metropolitan Museum)

In black. Title page 'Salvatoris Rosa Varia et concinna de lineamenta.'

In sanguine. Title page the same

Watermark: Fleur de lys in a circle surmounted by a vertical lozenge.

de Poilly (Paris) Jean Baptiste or Nicholas (le jeune) or  
 Nicholas Jean Baptiste c. 1740-50 (British Museum)

Anon: Italian c. 1700  
 Title page without original inscription but inscribed 'Salvator Rosa Invenit'. The plates are in reverse and divided into four 'books' — 'Liber primo' etc. (New York Public Library)

Anon: Italian mid-18th century (New York Public Library)  
 Watermark: Fleur de lys in a circle with initial D below

Anon: Italian 18th century  
 cited by Nagler  
 Watermark: a Leaping Hind in a circle surmounted by initial P

As regards Rosa's original plates the following may be noted:

Title page: Fabbri has noted a state showing complete bellows below Caprice

B. 52: has two black ring marks towards top right

B 55: is reworked in the darks of the figure, possibly by Rosa himself to lighten the tone.

B. 72: Donna dall' Erma, a variant with her hand on a broken wall, which appears to be original

Nag. 99: A variant cancelled by the artist

The re-strikes are fairly numerous and all are usually detectable through being worn. An official re-strike was made when Rosa's



descendants sold the plates to the Papal Chalcographic office (Morgan). A virtually complete set formerly in the collection of Cardinal Tosti (Boston Public Library) who started his collection c. 1834. This set is on a 19th century coated paper and the impressions are light and worn.

The pirated edition by Rainaldi, c. 1790's (Morgan) would account for some re-strikes.

1651-56

11 *Alexander in the Studio of Apelles* 455 x 272 Salvator Rosa B.4.

Inscribed: Alexandro M. multa imperite in officina disserenti/silentium comiter suadebat Apelles, ridere eum dicens/a pueris, qui colores terrent.

Rosa's inscription shows that he was familiar with the Elder Pliny on art, (*The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, trans. and ed. K. Jex Blake and E. Sellers, Book XXXV 80-86) in which appears the anecdote of Apelles disuading Alexander from talking about art in case the young color grinders in his studio should laugh at him. The story is also told in Borghini's *Il Reposo* (1584) Florence (2nd edition 1730, p. 115). Rosa described Apelles painting Calumny in his satire *Invidia* (Envy) which he completed in 1653. The ancient source is Lucian *De Calumnia*, repeated by Alberti (*De Pictura*) in the Renaissance, the source for the Mantegna studio drawing and the engraving by Mocetto and also Botticelli's well known painting (Uffizi). Borghini (op. cit.) also included it in his account of Apelles. The painting on the easel is *Diana and her Nymphs*, which Pliny said was preferred with the equestrian portrait of Antigonos amongst all the paintings of Apelles. Apart from an 18th century aquatint by Dietrich, Rosa is the only artist credited with this subject by Pigler. A preparatory drawing is in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome. Because of the awkwardness of the composition, this etching is probably the earliest of the large figure subjects.

12 *Three human skulls* 140 x 90 SR N.108

13 *Three ox skulls* 141 x 92 SR N.109

14 *Three animal skulls and a bearded old man's head* 141 x 92 SR (reversed) N.110

These three etchings are all fairly assured in execution but because of the association with the painting of Democritus 1650 and its animal skulls—the etchings perhaps derived from drawings of these—they may be earlier than 1656 (the *diverses figures*) and later than 1, 2.

The old man's head in 14 bears a close resemblance to Giulio Romano's River God in *The Labour of the Golden Fleece*, Palazzo del Te, Mantua (Hartt, pl. 249).

General Note on Nagler additions:

Nagler 87-89—these have not been seen.

Nagler 90-91—landscapes. The first is certainly not by Rosa being closer to the pen style of Mola. The second is possibly Rosa but is slight in handling and probably by a follower. Nagler 94-107—variants of the *diverses figures* are difficult, in some cases, to distinguish as genuine Rosas or later copies. No. 99 is genuine.

1661-62

15 *Democritus* 454 x 273 Salvator Rosa B.7

Inscribed: Democritus omnium derisor/in omnium fine defigitur

Salerno gives the source as from an apocryphal letter from Hippocrates to Damogetes. (Herscher *Epistolographi graeci* 1873, 298). Pigler gives Lucian (*de sacrificiis*). However, Rosa here, and earlier in the painting (Copenhagen) of 1650-51, presents a new interpretation of the philosopher in that he is serious, not laughing, as he was even by Rubens in contrast to the melancholic Heraclitus. Rosa, in fact, earlier had painted the traditional figures in a tondo (Garas), possibly from his knowledge of Ribera's *Wise Men* (Darby). While Castiglione's engraving *Melancholy II* B.26 has been cited as the source (a young woman seated in a ruin pondering over items representing the arts and sciences), a more personal association is Ribera's etching *The Poet* of c. 1630 (Democritus had spoken of poetic frenzy) since Rosa (Limentani Letter IX, p. 79) wrote in 1651 that he still had the painting '... because of the similar disposition that this experimental philosopher has with a stoic like me. . .'. It would seem that Rosa was the first painter to give this new image to Democritus, but not the first artist, for C. LeBlon's title page (Klibansky pl 112) to Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Oxford, (six editions, 1621-1651) shows Democ-

ritus serious, seated, a hand to his head and a book on his knees under a tree. Burton, who adopted the pseudonym of Democritus Junior, explained in his 'Satyricall Preface' that he wrote his Treatise as a cure for Melancholy. It is not impossible that a copy was available in Florence where prior to the founding of the *Accademia del Cimento* in 1657 the followers of Galileo (d. 1642) through their experiments, had helped to turn philosophic favour from Aristotle to Democritus. This change is well stated by Joseph Glanvill (*Vanity of Dogmatizing*, 1661, p. 146) 'thus the *Aristotelean Philosophy* hath prevailed; while the more excellent *Hypotheses of Democritus* and *Epicurus* have long lain buried under neglect and obloquy; and for ought I know might have slept for ever, had not the ingenuity of this age recalled them from their Urne'. Since Rosa intended the Democritus as a pendant to the Diogenes, as regards both the paintings and the etchings, he was establishing his own stoical and misanthropic pedigree.

A copy, in sanguine with the watermark OTTI (?) (see 26) mid-18th century, probably the series by Bouchard and Gravier, Rome 1786.

16 *Diogenes and his Cup* 454 x 272 Salvator Rosa B.5

Inscribed: Diogenes Adolescentum manu bibentum/intuitis scyphum projicit

Diogenes of Sinope was the co-founder of the Cynics, philosophers who practiced self-sufficiency, to make do with as few needs as possible, to live according to nature and to ignore social conventions. Diogenes was claimed by the Stoics as one of their exemplars. The source of the story is Diogenes Laertius 6, 37. Diogenes on seeing a peasant drinking from his hands, threw away his cup as an unnecessary possession. Rosa's painting of this subject is dated 1651-52 (Copenhagen). The etching followed eleven years later.

Rosa treated the same subject in *The Philosopher's Wood* (Florence, Pitti) of c. 1646.

17 *Diogenes and Alexander* 452 x 270 Salvator Rosa B.6

Inscribed: Sensit Alexander, testa quum vidit in illa/magna

habitorum, quanto felicior hic, qui/Nil cuperet, quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem.

The subject is taken from Plutarch (Alexander): Diogenes Laertius 6, 38. When Alexander asked what he would wish for, the philosopher asked that the Emperor should not stand between him and the sun. The painting (Lord Spencer Althorp House) of this subject is dated 1640-45, and a preparatory drawing (British Museum) of the etching repeats to some extent the two principals in the painting.

There are possibly two states: 1. The boy's face on the left unshaded. 2. The same with diagonal hatching. A black copy in reverse by Sandrart.

Even in the original impressions the inking on the barrel is often uneven, possibly due to a warping in the plate.

18 *Plato and his Disciples* 456 x 272 Salvator Rosa B.3

Inscribed: In Villa ab Academo attributa/sua Plato condit Academiam

A possible inspiration for this etching may have been Rosa's association with Carlo Dati, known as the Florentine Plato. The closest parallel to Rosa's group is that painted by Furini as part of the original program of Giovanni da San Giovanni in the Salone Terreno, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. With some adjustments, Rosa has adopted the seated Plato on his plinth, the seated figure and the cross-legged figure on the left as well as following the general arrangement of the standing figures. When Rosa arrived in Florence, these frescoes were being painted; they were completed in 1642. Rosa's later visit to Florence in 1661 would have refreshed his memory. Salerno dates the etching c. 1662. A preparatory drawing with marked differences in the composition is in the British Museum.

Copy in reverse by Sandrart. Another, overinked, right way with inscribed '... attriduta (sic)'

1662

19 *Apollo and the Cumean Sibyl* 335 x 218 Rosa B.17

The story is taken from Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14, 131-139,

where the Sibyl tells Aeneas how she had wished from Apollo as many years of life as there are grains in a pile of sand, but she forgot to ask for eternal youth. Apollo would have granted the latter if she would succumb to him, but she refused. Rosa used the same group in an extensive landscape for his later painting (Wallace Collection, London). A drawing of the Sibyl in reverse is in the Louvre. No one before Rosa had drawn upon this subject.

A possible source points to the likelihood, mentioned by Wallace, that Rosa did pass through Mantua on his Venetian journey for in the Sala dei Psiche, Palazzo del Te, Giulio Romano's design for *Psyche appeals to Juno* (Hartt, fig. 244) is very similar. Wallace, however, gives Tempesta's Sibyl (plates for Ovid B.638-787) as the source for Rosa's.

Almost identical in size is *Glaucus and Scylla* 21 and *Ceres and Phytalus* 20, the latter providing a moral riposte to 19 here—disinterested kindness rewarded by a gift.

In three works—these two etchings and the paintings derived from them and the *Phryne tempting Xenocrates* CL 22—women figure as protagonists upon whom Nemesis falls, old age and withering up on the Sibyl; Scylla is transformed into a monster by Circe through jealousy; Phryne's sexual attractions are spurned by Xenocrates. Rosa's stern moral attitude to woman's overdependence on love is clearly expressed here.

The original impression has the eye of the Sibyl reworked so that she looks down to Apollo. A note on a photostat (Metropolitan Museum) suggests an earlier state with the eye looking straight ahead and with more trees on the right. However, this state (Boston M.F.A.) is in fact a poor copy. A copy in black reversed by Sandrart. Another copy in black, probably 18th century.

20 *Ceres and Phytalus* 345 x 233 Salvator Rosa B.19

Inscribed: Hic Cererem tectis Phytalus suscepit Heros/Cui primum sacri largita est femina pomi/Quod mortale genus FICUM vocat

The source is Pausanias 2 37.2 and the inscription is the first

three lines of that on the grave of Phytalus (quoted in Greek by Pausanias). Phytalus is supposed to have given hospitality to Demeter or Ceres, who gave him the fig tree. In the etching Ceres is identified by the two dragons that pulled her chariot. Salerno cited Baldinucci's account of Rosa's passion for this fruit and how he would make presents of his paintings to those who brought him figs.

In addition to Ceres being a Nature Goddess and thus a member of Rosa's natural pantheon, the gestures of Phytalus betray Rosa's experience in amateur theatricals in Rome and in the Casino da San Marco, Florence. Thus, by citing the instructions for 'Simple Admiration' in Thomas Wilkes' *General View of the Stage*, London, 1759 ' . . . the eye fixes upon the subject; the right hand naturally extends itself with the palm turned outwards; and the left hand will share in the action though as scarcely to be perceived, not venturing far from the body'. This does more than suggest the long and common European tradition in stage gestures for it indicates that Rosa employed the stage as a vehicle to project his moralities, and the gestures of his characters belonged to a recognized language of expression.

A coarse copy heavily inked in black, 18th century.

21 *Glaucus and Scylla* 339 x 230 S Rosa B.20

The source is Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13, 900-908. Salerno gives also Philostratus *Imagines* 2, 15, but Scylla is not mentioned in that description. However, in the two paintings (Brussels, Musée des Beaux Arts; St. Louis, Washington University) which postdate the etching, Rosa seems to have followed Philostratus in the alterations he made to Glaucus. Both in *Jason and the Dragon* 30 and in this subject, Rosa appears to have given more rein to his imagination in the etchings, for the paintings are much closer to their respective texts.

A copy in black, same direction by Sandrart

22 *Regulus (Martyrdom of Attilius Regulus)* 463 x 725 Salvator Rosa B.9



Inscribed: Jo. Bapt Ricciardo Amico Unico/Attilium Regulum  
in praecipitis Fortunae/vertigine tot inter clavos firmioris constantiae centrum

The classical sources are Polybius, *Histories* 1, 25-35, Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 7, 4. Cicero, *In Pisonem* 43. Based on the painting (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond), painted c. 1652 and sold to Carlo de' Rossi. As Wallace has pointed out, Rosa probably used the engraving by Diana Scultori (Ghisli-Bartsch 36) after Giulio Romano's fresco of the subject in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua, on which to base his own composition, although there is a distinct probability (see 19, 20, 24) that he visited Mantua on his way to or return from Venice in 1648.

Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, scholar, was Rosa's lifelong friend, mentor and correspondent.

A copy in sanguine

23 *Polycrates* 468 x 723 Salvator Rosa B.10

Inscribed: Policrates Sami Tyrannus opibus et felicitate inclytus, ab Orete Persarum Satrapa captus, ac cruci/affixus docuit, neminem ante obitum merito dici posse felicem

The source is Herodotus *Histories* 3, 39-60. Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, was lured to the mainland by the Persian, Oroetes, and then crucified. The story is considered one of the best examples of Nemesis overtaking good fortune.

This etching is an example of Rosa making a print before painting the picture (Chicago Art Institute), which is much less ambitious in composition and in the number of figures, possibly to balance it with its pendant *Polycrates and the Fish* (same location).

This etching in both composition and format may be considered a pendant to the *Regulus* 22, since both men of their own free will leave their homelands to find their own species of destruction.

A copy in sanguine.

1662-63

24 *The Fall of the Giants* 713 x 465 Salvator Rosa B.21

Inscribed: Horatio Quaranta Amico Homogeneo/Tolluntur in altum/Ut lapsu graviore ruant

The source is probably Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1, 154-156, rather than Hesiod, since Ovid describes how the Giants '... set themselves to pile up mountains ... to harass Great Jupiter in war. From heaven's citadel Jupiter hurled thunderbolts and turned the ponderous weights upon their movers'.

This etching is clear proof that Rosa must have visited Mantua since there are too many similarities to Giulio Romano's *Giants buried under Pelion and Ossa* (Hartt, Fig. 338) in the Sala dei Giganti, Palazzo del Te, both in terms of postures and the heavy mustaches of the giants to imagine otherwise. Only two other *Fall of the Giants* have been traced—Bartsch Vol.15.16, Guido Ruggieri after Perino del Vaga, and Bartsch 11, Coriolano after Guido Reni—neither is the model for Rosa. A preparatory drawing is in the British Museum.

To Ricciardi (Letter 124, 21 October, 1663) Rosa explains that since the Attilius Regulus 22, the Democritus 15 and Diogenes throwing away his cup 16, none of the other etched subjects had been made into paintings '... nor has anyone had sufficient desire to see that of the Giants painted'. No painting has in fact been traced although Morgan lists this subject as being in the Pitti, but it seems from other titles on that list that etchings or engravings were confused with oils.

Horatio Quaranta was a Florentine poet (Letter 123, 15 September, 1663)

A copy in sanguine

25 *Oedipus* 717 x 475 Salvator Rosa B.8

Inscribed: Julio Martinello Amico Carissimo/Oedipus hic fixis versisque ad sidera plantis/Edocet ad sortem quem libet ine suam



This subject is virtually unique to Rosa, Pigler recording only a French illumination in the preceding centuries.

The classical source is Apollodorus 3, 5, 7, and many others but Rosa has borrowed the tree from some later commentary, post *The Golden Legend* in which the Oedipus story is connected with Judas. Laius, who had been warned that he would be killed by his son, had the infant Oedipus spiked through the feet and exposed on Mount Cithaeron where he was found by a shepherd of Polybus, King of Corinth. In describing the etching (Letter 157, 15 December, 1666) Rosa explains that no painting had been made from it. But Morgan records such a painting, without citing the collection, in her lists.

'Il mio Signor Giulio Martinelli' was 73 in 1665 and sick in bed (Letter 143, 30 October, 1665). Rosa previously mentions him (Letter 137, 2 May, 1665) as carrying a letter to Ricciardi.

26 *St. William of Maleval* 342 x 226 *Salvator Rosa* B.1

27 *Albert* (disciple to St. William) 338 x 222 *Salvator Rosa* B.2

Guérin (*Vies des Saintes*, Paris, 1880. II, p. 433) says that William went to Rome in 1145 and was sent to the Holy Land by Pope Eugenius III to expiate his sins. In 1153 he appeared in Tuscany and settled on the isle of Lupocavia near Pisa, where the indiscipline of his disciples forced him to move to Monte Prunio, where the same cause forced him eventually to the valley of Maleval near Siena. In 1156, Albert joined him as his sole disciple and in whose arms he died. William was noted for the severity of his penitential practices as seen in these two prints. The likely model for Albert 27 would be the antique Marsyas, then in the collection of the Dukes of Tuscany in Florence and now in the Uffizi. Rosa was in Siena and Pisa in 1641-47-50-59 and the latter again in 1661 where he might have learned of this obscure hermit. A preparatory drawing for 27 is in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa. A painting based on the etching is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (646) which was in Innsbruck by 1663. A preparatory drawing for 26 is at Holkham Hall (Lord Leicester). Ozzola suggested a connection between 26-27 and Testa's *St. Jerome*, B.15 (in particular, the

tree), but Rosa more logically could have been inspired by Ribera, *Saint Bartholomew* 64 from which his own painting of the same title stems (Vienna, Harrach Gallery).

26 Black marks in bottom left corner (possibly caused by rust on the plate) are noticeable in original impressions. Copy in sanguine. A poor black copy with watermark OTTI (?), mid-18th century.

27 Copy in sanguine. A good black copy reversed, drapery hard, probably 18th century. A poor black copy like 26.

28 *The Dream of Aeneas* 344 x 232 *S Rosa* B.23

The source is Virgil *Aeneid* 8, 26 (Ripa, *Tiber*, also '... Tevere come dipinto da Virgilio ...') where the River God Tiber appears to Aeneas to prophesy that nearby Aeneas will found the future city of Rome. Since the painting of the same subject (Metropolitan Museum, New York) is much simplified in comparison both to the etching and the drawing (Louvre, Paris), one may presume that like many of the other etching-painting titles, the latter followed and is perhaps later than c. 1662 as Salerno suggests. The subject is unique to Rosa and is a rare instance of a river god as an active participant, although entirely consistent with Rosa's natural pantheon.

29 *The Genius of Salvator Rosa* 454 x 273 *Salvator Rosa* B.24

Inscribed: Ingenuis, Liber, Pictor Succensor, et Aequus/Spretor Opum, Mortisque hic meus est genius

Wallace translated the inscription as 'Sincere, free, fiery painter, and equitable, despiser of wealth and death: This is my genius', and interpreted the figures as follows from right to left: Liberty, Rosa as Genius, Sincerity, Equity, Satire and Painting. The androgynous Satyr figure presents a problem. In the inscription there is no mention of the artist as satirist, whereas all his other attributes are represented. There seems therefore, a possibility that this female Satyr is the 'genius loci' since it seems impossible to imagine that Rosa would select arbitrarily this grove with its poplars and fruit trees. The Satyr stands outside the main circle with one forefinger raised, perhaps the 'mon-

strari digito' of Horace, the finger that points at truth or genius. Rosa used this same gesture in *La Menzogna* (before 1649, Pitti) to point at a mask. Such a gesture in the context of this etching is also prophetic. Near Rome was the famed site where 'Albunea's wood . . . echoes to a holy spring and breathes forth a malevolent sulphur vapour' (Virgil, *Aeneid* 7 84 ff.) of which the oracle was Faunus or Pan. The other half of this 'Genius loci' must be the Latin Rhea or the Greek Cybele, the Earth mother. The evidence for this comes from Pindar (Pyth. 3, 76-79) who describes that outside his door there are statues of the Earth mother and Pan (see note 3). As Wallace has noted, this androgynous figure also wears a poet's ivy crown, and in his Satire on Poetry, Rosa refers to Pindar as 'a melodious scourge' and his lyrics as 'thrusting darts'. The idea of a hybrid God was common in the Orphic pantheon, which was revived in the Renaissance—the Hermaphrodite not excluded (Wind). Thus Rosa's composite 'Genius loci' could represent the fertile quietism of Nature and the lyrical passion of Pan combined with an oblique reference to poetic Satire.

1662-64

30 *Jason and the Dragon* 338 x 217 Rosa B. 18

The source is Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7, 149-156.

Only Tempesta in his engravings for Ovid (Bartsch 638-787) took up the same subject. Rosa knew of this series. Since the etching shows the hero bestriding the dragon in contradistinction to the two versions (Montreal Art Museum, St. Louis Art Museum) of the painting where he leans forward from behind a rock, Rosa seems to have had a change of heart in his conception of this allegory of virtue overcoming vice, for Salerno dates the Montreal version late—c. 1666—and the etching must have been made before 1664. A preparatory drawing is in the National Museum, Stockholm.

An artistic source for the etching is possibly Caraglio's engraving after Rosso, *La Fureur* (Fury), B.58, where a naked man bestrides a dragon—in spirit and context it is very similar.

Copy in sanguine. A copy in black reversed, materially different in details and smaller in format, probably by a German hand, but too tight in style for Sandrart.

## PRINTS AFTER ROSA

No engraving after 1830 has been included below or in the check list. Original Collection and present location in order given.

### RELIGIOUS

31. *Hagar in the Desert* 252 x 171 Joseph Goupy 1747  
John Taylor, Cambridge: Untraced
32. *Saul and the Witch of Endor* 432 x 300 A. Laurentius (A. Lawrence) c. 1744-45  
Coll: Royal Versailles: Louvre, Paris
33. *Jonah Preaching to the Ninevites* 458 x 334 J. Preisler 1757-1831  
Coll: Danish Royal (Chapel: Castle of Fridericksbourg): State Museum, Copenhagen. Size of painting given as 113 x 83 ins. (approximate)
34. *David and Goliath* 302 x 225 R. Earlom 1766  
Coll: Duke of Devonshire: G. Briganti, Rome (a version)
35. *Tobias and the Fish* (Tobit) 272 x 426 J. Goupy 1747  
Coll: Paul Methuen, Corsham Court: same collection
36. *Tobias and the Fish* 287 x 224 R. Earlom/J. Smith 1767  
Coll: Earl of Chesterfield: Untraced. Size of painting given as 17 x 14 inches
37. *Saint Onuphrius* (An Anchorite) 246 x 147 G. (J.) Vendramini c. 1818  
Coll: Unknown: Minneapolis, Institute of Arts
38. *The Good Samaritan* (Ejus Vulnera Oleo . . . Luke 15) 425 x 295 P. Casteels III (1684-1747)  
Coll: Unknown: Untraced
39. *Temptation of Christ* (Jube hinc lapidi . . . Luke 4) 410 x 292 P. Casteels III  
Coll: Unknown: Untraced
40. *St. John Preaching in the Wilderness* 465 x 322 J. Goupy 1747  
Coll: William Morris: Walter P. Chrysler Museum
41. *St. John Preaching in the Wilderness* 433 x 579 R. Earlom/J. Browne 1768  
Coll: Earl of Chesterfield: Untraced. Size of painting given as 29 x 39 inches
42. *The Eunuch Baptized* (Ecce Aqua . . .) 474 x 325 J. Goupy 1747  
Coll: William Morris: Walter P. Chrysler Museum

43. *The Prodigal Son* 451 x 355 S. F. Ravenet/J. Michel 1781  
Coll: Lord Orford, Houghton Hall: Hermitage Leningrad

#### MYTHOLOGY AND HISTORY

44. *Jason and the Dragon* 434 x 352 R. Earlom 1765  
Coll: Earl of Bessborough: Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal
45. *The Roman Auguries* 276 x 412 J. Goupy 1747  
Coll: C. Cooke: Untraced
46. *Belisarius* 457 x 330 R. Strange 1764  
Coll: Viscount Townsend: Sitwell Estate
47. *Philosopher contemplating the Wrecks of Mortality* 245 x 146 G. (J.) Vendramini c. 1818. Coll: Unknown, possibly same as 52. Untraced. Size of painting given as 72½ x 47 ins.
48. *Democritus and Protagoras* 453 x 327 J. Farington/W. Pether  
Coll: Lord Orford, Houghton Hall: Hermitage, Leningrad.  
Size of painting given as 72 x 50½ inches
49. *Glaucus and Scylla* 225 x 187 J. Goupy c. 1750's  
Coll: Anthony Couzin
50. *Glaucus and Scylla* 344 x 297 H. Winstanley 1728  
Coll: Earl of Derby: Musée des Beaux Arts, Brussels
51. *Diogenes in Search of an Honest Man* 424 x 334 R. Strange 1770  
Coll: Edward Knight: Museum of Fine Arts, San Diego  
(Not accepted by Salerno)
52. *Marius* 242 x 145 G. (J.) Vendramini c. 1818  
Coll: William Beckford, Fonthill: Untraced. Size of painting given as 72½ x 47 ins.
53. *Diogenes and the Peasant* 505 x 356 W. Ryland 1771  
Coll: None given. Morgan cites two works of this subject besides the one now in Copenhagen: Lord Gosford, Suffolk: Duke of Bedford (Very doubtful as Rosa)
54. *The Conspiracy of Catiline* 406 x 451 F. Rainaldi 1798  
Coll: Casa Martelli, Florence: Same location

#### LANDSCAPES WITH FIGURES

55. *Landscape with Figures before a Lake* (Latrones) 278 x 436  
J. Goupy 1747  
Coll: Jonathan Richardson: Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota

56. *Landscape with three soldiers on a Rock* 249 x 173 J. Goupy 1747  
Coll: Lord Carlton: Original untraced
57. *Landscape with a Hermit Reading* 288 x 398 J. Wood 1744  
Coll: William Kent: Original untraced. Size of painting given as 16 x 26 inches
58. *Landscape with Banditti* (Latrones) 442 x 320 H. Winstanley 1728  
Coll: Earl of Derby: Untraced. Size of painting given as 52 x 38 ins.
59. *Landscape with a horsedrawn Sedan* Lady Augusta Churchill (née Greville) 1758-61  
Coll: Earl of Warwick: W. S. Auburn, Auckland, N. Z.
60. *Landscape with a man seated, a woman standing* 346 x 452 Lady Augusta Churchill (née Greville)  
Coll: Not stated (Probably Earl of Warwick): Untraced
61. *Landscape with three soldiers on a rock* 278 x 218 J. Heath 1788  
Coll: Lord Orford, Houghton Hall: Untraced. Size of painting given same as engraving

#### MISCELLANEOUS

62. *A Sea Monster* 252 x 288 J. Goupy c. 1750's  
Coll: Duke of Rutland: Untraced
63. *Man walking to the left with outstretched arm* 139 x 90 Sarah Green 1788  
After Diverse Figure B.78

#### COMPARATIVE ETCHINGS

- Jusepe de Ribera 1591-1652
64. *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* 297 x 238 B.6 1624  
  
Filippo Napoletano 1587/91-1630/38
65. *A Soldier standing, holding a halberd, looking to the left* 123 x 93 B.11
66. *Soldier crouching, facing left with a hat in his left hand* 120 x 90 B.4  
  
Benedetto Castiglione c. 1600/10-1665
67. *Melancholy I.* 214 x 357 B.22



## CHECK LIST OF PRINTS AFTER ROSA NOT EXHIBITED

Present location in parentheses

### RELIGIOUS

1. *Hagar and Ishmael* H. Winstanley 1728 (Walter P. Chrysler)
2. *Dream of Jacob* J. Goupy 1747 (Chatsworth Estate)
3. *St. Anthony Preaching to the Fish* J. P. Le Bas 1735 (Lord Spencer)
4. *St. Anthony Preaching to the Birds* J. P. Le Bas 1735
5. *Jacob wrestling with the Angel* R. Earlom 1766 (Chatsworth Estate)
6. *Details from Paintings in the Colonna and Chigi Palaces* Abbé St. Non 1770-71
7. *Resurrection of Lazarus* Pietro Bombelli 1771.
8. *The Prodigal Son* R. Earlom 1775 (Hermitage, Leningrad)
9. *The Finding of Moses* J. Boydell/J. Baldry 1785. (not Detroit version)
10. *The Dream of Jacob* S. W. Reynolds 1773-1835 (Chatsworth Estate)
11. *Temptation of St. Anthony* J. B. Wicar and F. Dequevauviller (Pitti, Florence) 1789-1792

### RELIGIOUS (after Drawings)

12. *St. John the Baptist in the Desert* Arthur Pond 1732-36
13. *The Assumption of the Virgin* A. Scacciati 1766-1774
14. *The Three Maries at the Tomb* B. Picart 1734
15. *The Young St. John with a Lamb* S. Mulinari 1774
16. *Three Maries at the Tomb with the Angel* W. W. Ryland 1778
17. *Three figures, seen from the back, perhaps Lot and his daughters* John Skippe 1781
18. *Study of six heads and St. Peter, penitent* Unknown (Basan Coll.) 1792
19. *Four Angels, one large, three small, in the Sky* Saint Morys 1794
20. *Apollo on a Cloud* Saint Morys 1794
21. *The Prodigal Son kneeling in a Landscape* John Skippe 1809

### MYTHOLOGY AND HISTORY

22. *Phryne tempting Xenocrates* C. Grignon/S. F. Ravenet 1770

23. *Les Augures* J. P. Le Bas 1771
24. *La Congiura di Catilina* B. Balla Cecchi 1780 (Casa Martelli, Florence)
25. *Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl* M. Beylbrouck 1781 (Wallace Collection, London)
26. *The Fable of the Bundle of Sticks* Isaac Taylor, II 1759-1829 (Hermitage, Leningrad)
27. *Tityus* F. Gregori 1743-1804
28. *The Dream of Aeneas* John (G.) Vendramini c. 1811 (Metropolitan Museum, New York)
29. *Diogenes and the Peasant* F. Chereau 1680-1729
30. *Diogenes and the Peasant* W. C. Edwards 1777-1855
31. *Prometheus* J. B. Wicar and Etienne Beisson 1789-92 (Galleria Nazionale, Rome)
32. *The False Alexander* Matteo Barboni active 1790-1810

### MYTHOLOGY AND HISTORY (after drawings)

33. *Glaucus and Scylla* B. Picart 1734
34. *Diogenes Siting under a Tree* Arthur Pond 1735
35. *Seated naked youth with drapery on his lap* S. Mulinari 1774
36. *Satyr by a Tree* S. Watts 1778
37. *Two male figures and a water nymph* Saint Morys 1794

### LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES

38. *A Mountainous Landscape with Figures* B. 28 J. van Ossenbeeck c. 1627-1678
39. *A rocky escarpment with a river* B. 29 J. van Ossenbeeck
40. *A Harbour Scene* Fabio Berardi 1763
41. *A Wooded Landscape* Fabio Berardi 1763
42. *The Travelers* R. Earlom 1766
43. *A Landscape I* Giovanni Volpato 1733-1803
44. *A Landscape II* Giovanni Volpato
45. *Mount Vesuvius* R. J. Charpentier 1733-1770
46. *An Escarpment with a natural arch* J. H. (Miss Hayley) 1799
47. *Halte* J. B. Wicar and E. Dequevauviller 1792

### LANDSCAPE (After Drawings)

48. *Study of a Tree* W. Y. Ottley 1823



## PORTRAITS

49. *Portrait of a Poet* John Neagle and R. Cooper (Ringling Museum, Sarasota) 1824
50. *Self-Portrait* J. B. Wicar and Pierre Audouin (Uffizi, Florence) 1792
51. *Portrait of a Man in a Cap and Fur-trimmed Cloak* J. Michel 1777 (Hermitage, Leningrad)

## PORTRAITS (after Drawings)

52. *Portrait of Bernini* J. Basire 1778

## MISCELLANEOUS

53. *Lo Spavento or L'Effroi* J. B. Wicar and L. J. Masquelier (Pitti, Florence) 1792
54. *Battle Piece* L. Lorenzi c. 1750-60
55. *Twenty-Four Figures* Sarah Green 1788
56. *Group from Diverses Figures* B. 61 Ph. Parizeau 1740-1801
57. *Group from Diverses Figures* B. 56 (?) Ph. Parizeau

## MISCELLANEOUS (after Drawings)

58. *Study of a Soldier, turned to the left with a hand on his chest* W. W. Ryland 1778
59. *Study of a Soldier, walking to the right, with a stick* W. W. Ryland 1778
60. *A Warrior fighting off wolves from an overturned carriage* S. Watts 1778
61. *A seated Soldier with a shield, pointing* J. G. Prestel c. 1776
62. *Four Soldiers by a Rock* James Hazard before 1787
63. *Seated Soldiers with a Flag* St. Morys 1794
64. *Study of two male robed figures* Nooth 1829

## ADDENDA

65. *Glaucus and Scylla* Louis Desplaces 1682-1739
66. *Belisarius* Cristoforo dall' Acqua 1734-1787 (Sitwell Estates)
67. *Mercury and Argus* Maria Prestel 1747-1794 (Lyndon Harris)

## SOME VOLUMES IN WHICH FACSIMILES OF ROSA'S DRAWINGS AND REPRODUCTIVE ENGRAVINGS OF PAINTINGS OR LISTS APPEARED

Picart: *Impostures innocents, ou Recueil d'Estampes d'après divers Peintres illustres, . . . gravées à leur Imitation.*  
Par Bernard Picart Amsterdam 1734

Pond and Knapton: *Imitations of Drawings by Arthur Pond and Charles Knapton*, London 1734-35

Scacciati: *Disegni originale d'Eccelenti Pittori esistente nella R. Galleria di Firenze . . . Andre Scacciati*, Florence 1766-74

Boydell: *A Collection of Prints engraved after the most Capital Paintings in England.* 2 vols. Published by John Boydell, London 1769-72

Mulinari: *Disegni originali d'eccelenti Pittori . . . nella Real Galleria di Firenze Stefano Mulinari*, Firenze 1774

Rogers: *A Collection of Prints in Imitations of Drawings with explanatory and critical notes by Charles Rogers.* 2 Vols. London 1778

Boydell: *Catalogue raisonné d'un Receuil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux qui soient en Angleterre avec les prix de chaque pièce*, London 1779

Skippe: *Amicis suis . . . Tabulas insequentis Ludentis Otii temporibus ligno incisas . . . dicat dedicat Johannes Skippe*, London 1782-1783

Hazard: *Recueil de Desseins de différentes Ecoles, . . . gravés par Monsieur (James) Hazard Amateur d'après des Originaux . . . de sa Collection*, Brussels (before 1781)

Basan: *Recueil de cent vingt sujets et Paysages divers, gravés à l'eau forte par plusieurs Artistes . . . de la Collection du Sr. Basan Père à Paris*, 1792

Saint Morys: *Disegni originali d'eccelenti Pittori Incisi ed Imitati . . . Etienne Bourgeuin Violart, Comte de Saint Morys*, London 1794

Wicar/Mongez: *Tableaux, Statues . . . de la Galerie de Florence et du Palais Pitti.* 4 vols. Paris 1789-1807

Ottley: *The Italian School of Design: being a Series of Facsimiles of Original Drawings . . . William Young Ottley*, London 1823

Denon: *Monuments des arts du dessin . . . recueillis par le Baron Vivant Denon*, Paris 1829

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\* This dissertation has not been consulted.

# *Plates*



Above 1N92 3B14 4B22

Below 2N93 5B11 7B13







Above 10B30 9B16 10B25

Below 8B15 10B41 10B50





Above 10B52 10B59 10B61

Below 10B71 10B73 10B78





Above 10B72 10B86 10B84 10B85

Below 12N108 13N109 14N110



Above 11B4 15B7 16B5

Below 17B6 18B3 19B17







Above 22B9 20B19 21B20

Below 23B10





Above 24B21 25B8 26B1

Below 27B2



Above 28B23 29B24 30B18

Below 64 65 67





Above 32 33 34

Below 39 42 58







Above 44 52 62

Below CL53 CL22 CL50





Above 54 55

Below 60 CL31

